752 /398 cont./
The whole of the lower part of her body was badly burnt, in some places the bones were exposed" /cited in English/.

585 It is not surprising that the entire surface of the body of these Indians and also every larger object they use exudes a penetrating odor of smoke. Moreover, the uncovered parts of their body become deeply tanned. I observed that my own face and hands became colored after only a few days of frequent visits to the Indian huts. This change disappeared only after persistent, thorough scrubbing with soap and warm water for a few weeks at home.

373 /399/ Our Indians do not use special material for illumination. The weak light given off by the fire suffices. They do not work at night anyway. If a light is necesary to look for something or to examine something, they strip off a handful of the brush with which their hut is covered and place it on the fire which immediately flames up brightly. In order to light a path in the dark, they wave a dry, smoldering piece of bark back and forth until it flares up. Signal fires serve to convey messages over a long distance and have special meaning.

372 The Indian roasts and fries his food at the fire and also melts his whale blubber there. He never eats animal food raw. Finally, he needs the fire for some of his handiwork. With fire, he makes rushes flexible for the braiding of baskets and ropes; he bends the large pieces of bark for his canoe; he dries raw materials and implements before or during their utilization; he fells hollow tree trunks by burning them out, and so forth (83).

83: For the manifold uses of fire by these Indians, see Hyades (q):345. In Volume I, page 207, I have described how the Selk'nam make use of it.

4 The Tamans could probably do without their clothing and their miserable hut on the frosty Cape Horn archipelago, but they could never give up their open fire in the hut and in the canoe (84).

84. "As life is impossible here without fire, the

/619 cont./

582

kept at it for hours and would not be fatigued. In fact, in all kinds of sailor's work the Fuegians show an uncommon skill, and this occupation obviously affords them entertainment."

It would be unjust to dispute the fact that the Yamana are daring seafarers. It takes great courage and presence of mind to set out in the light, unready bark boat with the waves high and with the rapid weather changes of their country, feared even by European seamen (432). In spite of this, they have pushed forward

432. These daring canoeists were marveled at by many Europeans. Loviaato (h):135 wrote: "With these poor boats they do not fear the disastrous hazards on high seas" /translated from Italian/. Other opinions are even more laudatory of the Yamana.

as far as the Islas de Ildefonso, as Bridges (k):233 assures us. One can see these islands distinctly from Seno Año Nuevo in clear weather. We cannot accuse them of cowardice, with Pickering: 19, because they have not visited the Falkland Islands, for these lie far beyond their field of vision. On the open sea there are almost no game animals; why, then, venture out so far? It is only when a sick or dead whale is floating in the waves that many canoes go far from shore, if there is the slightest hope that they can reach it. Near the outlying islands and in the inner channels the Indian family finds all higher and lower animals needed for their subsistence. They are obliged to go after them almost every day. Hence we are fully justified in calling the Yamana genuine water nomads.

Despite all their skill and precaution, occasionally a family would lose their canoe when they looked for eggs or cormorants on a low island without being able to moor their vessel securely beforehand. Usually they had no choice but to summon strangers with smoke signals. Hyades was right when he said (g):36: "The loss of their canoe renders a Fuegian family completely helpless

1: Gunnde--932 E-5 (1918-1954) 1957 9008 Yahgan 5098

/1020 cont./

213 in various ways, and it sometimes happens that even the report of a death or a murder is false, which causes grave complications and unnecessary excitement (440). Since messages travel very

> 440. Stirling (VS IX, 198;1863) tells of an example. In the Wulaia region the rumor spread that Ukokko and his family, whose home was there, had been shipwrecked at Picton Island and murdered by the people living there. Without delay Ukokko's brother, along with a few friends, set out on an expedition for revenge and found himself in a very awkward situation when it became known that Ukokko had not been molested at all.

quickly in all directions, it is obvious that on certain occasions a large number of families flock together with amazing speed.

• 202 On special occasions this rather simple news service is supplemented by a few signal fires. BD:64 writes "xáina, Signal smoke or fire" /cited in English/. Earlier, Bridges (a):213 had already mentioned: "They signal to one another by fires, which they are very expert in making" /cited in English/. In reality it is less a fire than a thick cloud of smoke with which a signal is given. It is made in such a way that it cannot be confused with the ordinary smoke of the hut fire. First, rather thick pieces of dry wood are brought to a faint glow. Meanwhile the natives gather many branches of the evergreen beech (Nothofagus betuloides), which are the length of an arm and covered with dense foliage. A large bundle of these branches is then gathered together and pressed down on the glowing fire. Now no flame can arise, but a thick cloud of smoke immediately ascends. When it has reached a height of about five meters, the fire is quickly put out, and, as though cut off, the balloon-shaped cloud rises perpendicularly into the air. The thick mass of smoke remains intact for a long time, reaches a considerable height, and is recognizable for some distance as an actual signal. If /1021/ it did not have this balloon-shape but rose up in a long column or even as an irregularly shaped smudge,

/1931 comm./

282 it would remind one of a forest fire.

If the Yamana let a single cloud of smoke, ch[illegible] ushé, rise up, they are announcing a serious illness or an accident and want other people, above all the yéhamuš, to bring help soon. In order to make two to four clouds of smoke, they previously prepare the corresponding number of fires which are placed about four meters apart. With two smoke clouds, kémbi'be ushé, they announce a condition of serious distress that might be caused by all kinds of reasons, for example, loss of the canoe and the hunting implements or serious damage to them, the loss of the hut fire, or total lack of food. Three smoke clouds, mápen ushé, announce a death. With four smoke clouds, wéru ushé, they announce that a whale is stranded. Finally it is customary to let one or more large smoke clouds ascend as a farewell to Europeans. They prepared this pleasure for me personally on two different occasions, when once a Chilean cutter, and the next time the "Garibaldi," picked me up in Punta Remolino and carried me westward. On the trip past Puerto Mejillones on the southern coast of Beagle Channel this sign of a final greeting arose with unmistakable distinctness. Long before, in March, 1834, Darwin (d) 263 was honored in this strange fashion. On the last visit of the "Beagle," after the well-known Jemmy "had reached land, he lit a signal fire, the smoke rose up and gave us a final and long farewell as the ship was on its way out to the open sea." The Yamana do not, however, greet each other with smoke signals; they use them only for the above reasons.

476 From the duty of mutual assistance there has arisen the rule that everyone must respond to an invitation for a common search for food, which applies particularly when a few men decide to search for cormorant nests. This enterprise is successful only if several of them join forces (p. 238). Anyone who is asked may not refuse to take part. Likewise they must join in an attack on a herd of seals (p. 30 /untranslated/) which is to be undertaken from a favorable shore. In the same way two or more canoes go out into a channel together where the women hunt for fish, crabs, and mussels for hours. They also invite each other to gather firewood in the forest. Such joining of forces is also necessary for personal safety in all kinds of dangerous undertakings.

571 Although many practices governing mutual association among the Yamana have arisen out of the necessity to help one another,

/1112 cont./

764 for hours with tireless persistence, although the loud lamentations
152 increase and diminish. Meanwhile the corpse has been buried. If it is burned, the howling and crying does not by any means cease while this is going on.

No matter how the corpse has been removed, it is only under /1113/ the compulsion of complete exhaustion that the neighbors who are not close to the deceased inconspicuously leave. After the hut of the dead person has been destroyed by fire, his nearest relatives crowd in elsewhere. Here they continue their lamentation for many more hours, heedless of the night which has perhaps long since fallen. This stimulates the neighbors to resume their cries of lament. For at least 20 hours after the soul's departure there is never an interval of complete quiet; the greater or lesser tumult of voices continues without pause. Even on the second and third day those who are nearest to the deceased barely interrupt their howling now and then for brief pauses, and the other people often fall in with them for two or three hours. All this depends on the disposition of the individual and on a number of incalculable motives. Almost all the adults become quite perceptibly exhausted. As though crushed, as though overwhelmed by grief, everyone remains in his hut almost without interruption. Now and then a person goes to those who have been directly affected by the misfortune, remains near them at least two hours, and weeps with them, as is demanded by sympathetic concern, according to the ideas of our Fuegians. Out of the same consideration everyone must remain still and quiet, even at a considerable distance from the mourning family. Even children may not talk loudly or laugh.

765 For the first few days after a death has occurred all is very
152 quiet in the entire camp. It was simply impossible for me to get people in front of the phonograph and the camera during this brief period. They rejected all my urging, which they interpreted as a violation of their innermost feelings, with the decisive words: "We are now in mourning!" Thus they told me, curtly and clearly, that they were simply unavailable for other matters.

765 The custom of announcing a death without delay by means of
• 202 signal fires has been discussed (p.933). Three thick clouds of smoke are sent up close together, which are chiefly meant to call other families to come quickly and help the family that has been

/1113 cont./

765 stricken by death and is sometimes in a difficult position. The
202 duty to give unselfish aid which burns ardently in everyone's soul, especially at the sight of the universally recognized smoke signal, compulsively drives them to the scene of misfortune. The mourners themselves appreciate it very much if many tribal members soon answer their summons.

765 After the initial, very lively outbursts have somewhat abated,
768 the painful event drives all present away from the scene of the misfortune with uncanny force. Within four days at the outside, after the hut of the deceased has been burned, the campsite is changed. Usually each of the families /1114/ which have experienced the death departs in a separate direction, for each family wishes to be by itself if possible so that the others will not constantly remind them of the event. The missionaries in particular
[171] mentioned this conduct which is common to both the Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 566) (52). Hyades (q):379 also confirms

52. Here is one example only, which Bridges (VSA:XII, 53;1865) furnished on November 10, 1864. In Wulaia the youngest child of the well-known Ukokku died, and he immediately left this region. "For it is an ascertained fact that the Fuegians will not, sometimes for a long time, return to the place where their relatives have died" /cited in English/.

this: "In general the hut in which a native died is burned, and the place where it stood is abandoned for a long time by the friends of the deceased" /translated from French/. They, of course, stay away from this place for a certain time, and meanwhile it is altered by the blind forces of nature. If the grave or the burial place has become unrecognizable as a result of plant growth or other circumstances, no one feels any aversion to settling down there.

765 The strict rule of never mentioning the name of the deceased
551 is in accord with the effort they make not to be reminded in any way of the deceased. There are several witnesses for this. The first is Fitz-Roy (a):181 who can refer directly to Jemmy Button: "He would not talk of a dead person, saying, with a grave shake

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

575 of spirits (pl. 38, *a*). So decked out, they sang and danced in the sight of the women and children and threatened the women with dire penalties if they did not remain submissive to the will of the men.

MYTHOLOGY

993 Full details on the cosmogony and mythology of the *Yahgan* have been presented by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1139–1277), with further information on certain of the more important folklore beings (1937, pp. 1278–1294). Perhaps the most important single phase of the mythology is the Yoálox cycle. The elder of the two Yoálox brothers was stupid, the younger, clever. The younger is in a general sense the culture hero. He is not a trickster. The cosmogonic myths include a flood story. There are a great many explanatory tales of the cormorant, the otter, the fox, and so forth. A number of other stories were told with the moral purpose of instructing and warning the young. Certain others concern the medicine man. The long story of the earlier matriarchate was briefly summarized supra under Kina rite with which it was associated, just as the Yoálox cycle was more or less associated with the čiéxaus. The chief folklore beings believed in, but to whom no cult was given, were the dreaded cannibal beings, the Lakúma water spirits, and the Hánnush giants.

LORE AND LEARNING

171 In general, *Yahgan* technology, with the exception of the bark canoe and coiled basketry, gives little indication of inventive strivings. Thus they stand in sharp contrast with their Arctic counterparts, the Eskimo. A comparison for instance between the very simple *Yahgan* harpoons and the very elaborate Eskimo ones shows the sharpest contrast. In this respect *Yahgan* culture resembles more closely the culture of the northern *Athabaskan* and northern *Algonquians* of sub-Arctic America.

202 804 811 There were no weights and measures of any kind. There were no means of communication such as knotted cords, notched sticks, or, so far as our records go, of travelers' signs, such as the inclined stick to show direction of journey. Smoke signals were made by putting branches of *Nothofagus betuloides* on the fire and, when the dense smoke had risen about 16 feet (5 m.) high, quickly extinguishing the fire, allowing a balloonlike cloud of smoke to ascend. One such smoke signal signified sickness or an accident; two, a grave emergency; three, a death; four, the discovery of a stranded whale.

805 The day was divided into periods of about 4 hours each. The year was divided into four seasons corresponding roughly to our own, and also into eight divisions: "the time when the bark is loose," "when the first bird eggs were found," and so forth.